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ABSTRACT

Through the employment of a uses and gratifications approach, a study examined the heterogeneity within a sample of black television viewers as revealed in their needs structures and their demographic characteristics. The purpose was to determine if differences in black audience needs could be associated with differences in television program viewing, and further to determine if those needs were more important than demographics in explaining variance in television viewing. Incorporated into the methodological design were data from an 1980 study on the public's use of television conducted by R.E. Frank and M.G. Greenberg. The analyses revealed that the need factors of personal identification, learning, communication/social utility, and diversion were to be active and in common significance within a majority of program types. The overall predictive ability of needs to mediate and guide television program preferences, with the exception of learning, proved to be of little significance. The demographic variables of sex, age, education, situation, and occupation, on the other hand, proved to be of greater significance as predictors of television program preferences. (HOD)

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BLACK TELEVISION AUDIENCE HETEROGENEITY: A USES and GRATIFICATIONS APPROACH

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Paper prepared for presentation at 1985 Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Minorities and Communication Division, Memphis, Tennessee, August 1, 1985.

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BLACK TELEVISION AUDIENCE HETEROGENEITY: A USES AND GRATIFICATIONS APPROACH

ABSTRACT

Through the employment of a uses and gratification approach, this thesis examines the heterogeneity within a sample of black television viewers as revealed in their needs structures and their demographic characteristics. It seeks to determine if differences in black audience needs can be associated with differences in television program viewing, and further to determine if those needs are more important than demographics in explaining variance in television viewing.

A re-analysis of the national sample collected by Frank and Greenberg (1980) revealed that black viewers had a different need structure from that of the general population as determined by factor analysis. Regression analyses revealed that demographic measures were uniformly more important than needs in explaining variance in black viewing patterns.

INTRODUCTION

There has been a comparatively small body of mass communication research which has focused on the media use and behavior of black television audiences (Kassarjian, 1973). Furthermore, the majority of research efforts have conceptualized black media use and behavior to be largely homogeneous (Allen, 1981). Rarely have research efforts been undertaken to determine to what extent heterogeneity may or may not exist within a black television audience (James, 1975; Fife, 1981).

This thesis argues, that for such a diverse group of people, to have their media behavior aggregated solely on the basis of race, limits theory development directed towards black audiences specifically, and media audiences in general. It argues further that research designs which have examined audience characteristics solely on the basis of demographic variables have provided only myopic observation of the complex relationship between man and media; and that other factors may also motivate and differentiate media use and behavior (Frank and Greenberg, 1980, 1982). According to Stroman and Becker (1978) researchers have failed to analyze what other factors might underlie the apparent racial differences in media and use and suggest: "That researchers have overlooked what other social processes are related to the motivational factors of media use (p. 770).

Motivational factors, such as needs, expounded by Katz and Blumler (1974) in a uses and gratifications paradigm have proven in

recent studies to be cogent indicators and/or predictors of media use (Palmgreen and Rayburn, 1979; Gantz, 1980; Stamford, 1984). Needs in a uses and gratifications paradigm, comprise motivational factors and are viewed to arise from psychological and sociological dimensions or predispositions which mediate or guide media use (Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 1973). To date, primarily four need dimensions have arisen from the research relating to Personal Identification or Guidance, Learning, Diversion, and Communication or Social Utility (Blumler, 1979).

Through the employment of a uses and gratifications approach, this study shall examine heterogeneity within a sample black television audience based on need dimensions as well as demographics. Further, it shall seek to determine if differences in black television audience needs (where found) can be associated with differences in television program viewing. For the study of black media audiences, the advantage of a uses and gratifications approach is seen in its ability to investigate media use not solely limited to socioeconomic status variables, which has been the predominate method used in previous studies addressing blacks. It is also hoped that a more thorough understanding and insight will be gained of the underlying needs associated with television use as well as their motivational impact.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The fellowship between blacks and television has been characterized as unique, mostly homogeneous, and even "startling because it departs from the general rule for social phenomena" (Comstock et al., 1978, p. 295). Several studies have addressed this "startling" media behavior while in comparison with other racial groups, and results have given broad indications that ther are in fact measurable differences between blacks and other groups (Carey, 1965; Fletcher, 1969; Greenberg and Dominick, 1969; Bogart, 1972; Teel and Bearden, 1979; Allen and Clarke, 1980; Darden and Darden, 1981). However, the reasons why black television audiences present such a marked departure in television use and associated behavior has not been adequately identified nor isolated (Comstock et al., 1978; Stroman and Becker, 1978; Fife, 1981; Darden and Darden, 1981).

The majority of research investigations have sought to examine and explain ethnic or racial differences in terms of demographic variables associated with socioeconomic status. However, in light of the disproportionate number of blacks stratified on lower socioeconomic levels, black television use has been found to be in an inverse relationship with "one of the most consistent patterns of mass media behavior in America" (Comstock and Cobbey, 1979). It has been generally held that lower socioeconomic groups view more television, especially prime-time entertainment programming; but for

blacks, it has been determined that the middle class exhibits this television behavior pattern (Bogart, 1972).

Researchers such as Allen (1981) contend that, given socio-economic parity, black's use television similarly with that of other ethnic groups. However, the bulk of research tends to support the noted differences in black television use and behavior (Comstock et al., 1978). But, as previously stated, the underlying factors which contribute to this "startling phenomena" remain largely unanswered.

Racially comparative studies utilizing demographic variables have for the most part not provided a consistent indication of why television use differences occur between blacks and other groups. Stroman and Becker (1978) further illuminate this impasse in theory development:

> Research undertaken in the U.S. in the last decade to identify racial differences in media use patterns has two limitations. First, it has not established whether discovered differences between blacks and whites are most likely attributable to characteristics of society - specifically social stratification or whether these differences are integrated aspects of the racial subcultures and therefore exist independently of social classification. Second, the studies have focused on limited measures of media use missing what may be important motivational factors underlying media behavior differences (p. 767).

More importantly to this study, racially comparative studies have limited development concerning black television audience heterogeneity. For blacks, the theoretical and empirical thrust has

been concentrated on determining inter-racial and not intra-racial differences (Fife, 1981). This negligence becomes particularly acute, when considering the number of research studies which have examined the heterogeneity among other media audiences. Although these studies have contributed to a greater understanding of general audience heterogeneity, again, it has left black heterogeneity virtually unexplored. Surely, blacks are not all alike in their general behavior; nor does it stand to reason that they would be alike in their media use and behavior as well.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The supposition that black television audiences are homogeneous has become a virtual axiom in mass communication design and investigation. The over reliance upon race as a variable to explain and/or differentiate media use is seen as a primary factor contributing to this sterectyped view of black television audiences. Therefore, the extent to which heterogeneity exist among blacks has not been adequately addressed nor determined.

Also, the plethora of research designs employing demographic indicators of socioeconomic status, including race, have not always proven to be consistent and reliable measures of inter-racial media use. Alternative methods and measures must be theoretically developed, refined, and applied to black media use, which may

provide greater insight. The media-related needs of blacks, approached from uses and gratifications paradigm, is conjectured to be a capable and alternative measure for the investigation of heterogeneity among black audiences. The media-related needs of blacks and the role needs play in the process of media use, also have remained greatly undetermined. The problem, therefore, becomes one of determining what are the media-related needs of blacks and to what extent they can be linked as predictors of different television program preferences.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. To what extent can heterogeneity be determined within a black television audience based on needs.

2. (a) If black television audience needs can be differentiated, to what extent can these needs be associated with difference in television program preferences?

   (b) Particularly, what are programs associated with communication/social needs?

3. In the case of black situation-comedies, what is the dominant need factor mediating program use?

4. Can needs based audience segmentation serve as a basis for audience program decision-making which is equal or greater than demographic segmentation?

LIMITATIONS

The data made available from Frank and Greenberg's (1980) study of a national television audience--The Public's Use of Television: Who Watches and Why, will be employed in this study.[1] Only the 525 black subsample, however, will be utilized from the sample base of 2,476 respondents. The responses to the needs battery, program preferences, and demographics will also be incorporated.

A further analysis of Frank and Greenberg's data can be viewed with certain limitations that accompany secondary analysis. In that, such analysis is detached from the original data gathering phase and remains subject to the flaws and peculiarities of the initial sample procedure and sampling base (Becker 1981). The data used in Frank and Greenberg's 1980 study was compiled between October 1977 and January 1978, and has subsequently been used in Attracting Minority Audiences to Public Television (Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1981) and Audiences for Public Television, (1982).

The sample population was based on 1970 census data. Though national in scope, it cannot be considered current. But the sample was designed to be representative of the black population at that

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1. Data set made available by National Analysts.

time. Television programming and audience taste must also be viewed as non-current, but reflective of the survey period.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There have been few use and gratifications studies which have operationalized needs as factors to investigate black media behavior and heterogeneity. Lee and Browne (1981) utilized a uses and gratifications approach along with he demographic variable of age to correlate television programming preferences for a non-random sample. But at this writing it remains the exception.

Frank and Greenberg (1980, 1982) and National Analysts (1981), although not employing a traditional uses and gratifications approach, determined measurable differences between the need factor scores of a black subsample and the general population. It remains to conjecture, however, what need factor segments might have arisen if a strictly black sample were analyzed. The NSF (1978) study of How Blacks Use Television For News And Information, although stating to have utilized a uses gratification approach (p. 6), did not predict program preferences based on needs. The study abstracted needs based on a survey of program preferences.

A review of the literature also suggest that blacks have a well defined preference for television viewing, particularly in the areas of: (1) news and information programming (Greenberg and

Dominick, 1969; Stroman and Becker, 1978; NSF, 1978; Allen, 1980; Darden and Darden, 1981); (2) action/adventure and drama (Carey, 1965; National Analysts, 1981; Lee and Browne, 1981; Gandy, 1982); (3) black-oriented programs (Greenberg, 1972; James, 1975; NSF, 1978; Stevenson, 1979; Frank and Greenberg, 1980).

These basic program types are conjectured to parallel in content, the gratifications outlined in a uses and gratification paradigm: (1) Personal Identification, seeking reinforcement of one's self and image (e.g. through black-oriented programs); (2) Learning, seeking news and information about world and community; (3) Diversion, seeking relaxation, escape, and avoidance of problems through entertainment programs. It is, therefore, hypothesized that the black subsample from Frank and Greenberg's study can be differentiated on the basis of these need dimensions:

H_1 Black television audiences can be differentiated based on the needs for: Personal Identification, Learning, Communication/Social Utility, and Diversion.

To further validate and establish association between needs and television program preferences, where these factors can be determined, it is also hypothesized that audience segments with greater needs in these respective dimensions will view greater amounts of programming relevant and reflective of their needs:

H_2 Audience members with greater needs for Personal Identification will view greater amounts of black-oriented programs.

H_3 Audience members with greater needs for Learning will view greater amounts of news, commentary, and information programs.

H_4 Audience members with greater needs for Diversion will view greater amounts of entertainment programming.

Also, for testing the multifunctionality of television programs gratifying multiple needs, it is postulated that Personal Identification will be the primary need dimension associated with black situation-comedy programs.

H_5 The need for Personal Identification will be the primary need factor associated with the viewing of black situation-comedy.

METHOD

To operationalize these variables, the data from Frank and Greenberg's (1980) study will be incorporated into the methodological design. The data to be utilized will only pertain to the black subsample, the 59 need item battery, demographic characteristics, and 145 television programs.

RESULTS

Based upon the need factors of Personal Identification, Learning, Communication/Social Utility, Diversion, as well as demographic variables, this thesis has sought to determine their

relationship with television viewing, specifically with regard to audience program preference differentiation. These factors and variables were tested to measure their association and predictive ability with 20 program types.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Table 1 indicates that Frank and Greenberg's (1980) black subsample is predominantly female--almost two-thirds of the sample (62.2 percent). Males composed 37.8 percent of the subsample population. The mean age (from 18-88 years) was 35. The 13-18 year age group made up the largest aggregate percentage (34.7 percent), followed by the 31-36 age group composing 19 percent.

Educational attainment levels (ranging from some grammar school to completing graduate school) had a mean of attending some high or trade school (36.5 percent). Some 21.2 percent of the sample had completed high school, 16.6 percent had attended college, while 3.4 had completed college.

The majority of the sample population worked full-time (36.3 percent) and 6.7 percent worked part time. Students made up 27.3 percent of the population, homemakers 13 percent, while 19 percent were retired. The occupational category of other than professional, manager, laborer, etc. constituted 46.2 percent of the sample population. Service workers made up 18.2 percent, craftsman 2.7

percent, and professionals and managers 8 percent. The large concentration in the other category may consist of the large student population (27.3 percent) and the unemployed.

Table 1

Demographic Profile

% of sample population			% of sample population	
Male	**Female**		**Education**	
37.8	62.2		0	1.7
			Some grammar	7.1
Age			Grammar complete	12.2
0		.6	Some high/trade school	34.7
13-19		36.5	High/trade complete	21.2
19-24		12.0	Some college	16.6
25-30		8.0	College complete	3.4
31-36		19.0	Some graduate school	1.1
37-42		10.4	Graduate Complete	1.9
43-48		9.7	**Situation**	
48-53		9.5	0	
54-59		3.6	Full-time employ	36.3
60-65		6.3	Part-time	6.7
66-71		4.9	Temporary	6.5
72-88		3.0	Retired	9.0
Occupation			Student	27.3
Professional		4.8	Homemaker	13.3
Manager		3.2	Armed Forces	.8
Operative		9.9		
Craftsman		3.7		
Laborer		5.9		
Sales/Clerical		8.8		
Service Worker		18.2		
Other		46.2		

NEEDS

Factor Analysis

SPSS factor analysis produced 12 need factors. Although, the 12 need factors for the black sample were inclusive of Frank and Greenberg's original 9 need factor groups, 3 new need factors emerged:

FACTOR 1 - Life Goals and Direction Oriented: To feel good about life, to help other people, to have peace of mind to have a sense of direction and purpose in life, to do things familiar, to be physically active.

FACTOR 9 - Independently Oriented: To be in more control of life, learn how things work, to learn new thoughts, to free myself from traditional roles.

FACTOR 12 - Skill Seeking: To improve skills was the only significant need a .35 factor loading level.

The need dimensions focused upon in this study: Personal Identification, Learning, Diversion, and Communication/Social Utility also emerged as need factors at .35 factor loading level or greater.

FACTOR 2 - Personal Identification Guidance: To understand myself better, to lift my spirits, to overcome loneliness, to feel I use my time in the best possible way, to be like people I respect, to develop good taste.

FACTOR 4 - Learning: To learn about the world, to learn new things, to meet new people, to improve skills, to understand why people behave the way they do, to learn about new places to see, to help me imagine other ways of living my life, to learn new thoughts, to find out how things work.

FACTOR 5 - Communication/Social Utility: To find that my ideas are often shared by others, to participate in discussion with friends, to have interesting experiences which I can tell others about, to be interesting and stimulating to other people, to get a feeling of adventure and excitement, to have a sense of direction and purpose, to spend time with friends.

FACTOR 7 - Diversion: To forget my problems for a while, to get away from the pressures of work, to escape from reality of everyday life, to get a feeling of adventure and excitement, to do unique things, to get away from the pressures and responsibilities of my home life.

Since the focus of this study pertains only to need Factors 2, 4, 5, and 7, only these factors will be investigated in relationship

to television viewing. An additive index was computed incorporating need factor matrix scores, means, and the standard deviations for each need item for Factors 2, 4, 5, and 7. The index was then utilized as a scale to measure the association and predictive ability of needs with program viewing.

PROGRAM PREFERENCES

Program Viewing By Program Type

Table 2 indicates that Situation-comedies had the highest viewing frequency mean, with 28 viewings from a maximum of 98 episodes. Black television programs ranked second with a mean of 13.7 viewings. Crime drama, Movies, Sports, and Talk shows followed.

Correlation Analysis

For correlation analysis, an additive index (see Table 2) was computed to measure viewing frequency by program type based on the number of times a program was viewed (mean frequency viewing) in its program type (range). Person's product-moment correlation was employed to measure the relationship between need Factors 2, 4, 5, and 7, the demographic variables of sex, age, education, situation, and occupation, with the 20 program types, shown on Tables 3 and 4.

Table 2

Program Type Mean Viewing Frequencies And Range

Program Type	Mean Viewing Frequencies	Program Viewing Range
Adventure	4.2	21
Crime Drama	12.0	50
Children's	.5	15
Documentary	.4	12
Drama	5.3	28
Game Shows	4.2	30
Movies	8.0	35
Commentary	2.4	20
News	3.0	10
Science Fiction	2.7	15
Situation Comedy	28.0	94
Soap Operas	6.7	40
Sports	7.6	15
Talk Shows	5.2	36
Theatrical Performances	.8	28
Black Sitcoms	7.2	15
Black Variety	4.1	10
Black TV	13.7	32
Music	3.3	18
Variety	5.5	29

Table 3

Program Type Correlation Coefficients And Need Factors

Program Type	Personal I.D.	Learning	Communication/ Social Utility	Diversion
Adventure	.17979*	.16672*	.13336*	.21678*
Crime drama	.17287*	.19521*	.12606*	.16384*
Children's	-.00759	.09020*	.01991	.00477
Documentaries	.06910	.04102	.06109	.05187
Drama	.17325*	.12761*	.11943*	.13326*
Game Shows	.10281*	.02686	.07383	.02111
Movies	.11866*	.14252*	.06967	.14208*
Commentary	.12401*	.13166*	.09292*	.03313
News	.07975	.03215	.05259	-.03190
Science fiction	.12061*	.15901*	.07056	.10497*
Situation comedy	.12854*	.13648*	.08447	.11500*
Soap operas	.16185*	.11775*	.14741*	.12847*
Sports	-.02170	-.01276	-.04958	-.03499
Talk shows	.03689	-.00546	.03110	.02591
Theatrical performance	.09593*	.08204	.08915*	.06687
Black sitcoms	.08349	.14495*	.06244	.07776
Black variety	.12003*	.20396*	.10415*	.13687*
Black TV	.13404*	.20396*	.10258*	.13089*
Music	.10076*	.12652*	.09284*	.12129*
Variety	.12212*	.12652*	.07937	.12624*

Note. * = P < .05

Table 4

Program Type Correlation Coefficients and Demographic Variables

Program Type	Sex	Age	Education	Situation	Occupation
Adventures	.11823*	-.15301*	-.15765*	-.13344*	-.16592*
Crime drama	.10065*	-.9559*	-.03607	-.01593	-.05655
Children's	.05610	.04808	-.01553	-.03629	-.00826
Documentary	.00242	-.02793	-.09446*	-.05103	-.06773
Drama	.24645*	-.07237	.10016*	-.19312*	-.19309*
Game shows	.22931*	.23598*	-.11693*	.10199*	-.08529
Movies	.05952	-.19565*	.00353	.04115	.04918
Commentary	-.02016	.23173*	.13170*	.15695*	.19011*
News	.05647	.33981*	.12981*	.19165*	.25161*
Science fiction	.05505	-.27338*	-.11124*	-.14767*	-.17187
Situation comedy	.21463*	-.17031*	-.10419*	-.17866*	-.18413*
Soap operas	.38739*	.14506*	-.05883	-.12393*	-.12642*
Sports	-.46594*	.04042	.03870	.13539*	.14719*
Talk shows	.18711*	.28687*	.00577	-.07307	-.04195
Theatrical performance	.05809	-.04026	-.06823	-.04951	-.07167
Black sitcoms	.18136*	-.20292*	.00447	-.13197*	-.10585*
Black variety	.05846	-.15036*	.05068	-.02091	-.05586
Black TV	.15227*	-.22593*	.01899	-.10534*	-.10537*
Music	.15990*	-.22123*	-.07538	-.14713*	-.17175*
Variety	.18816*	-.01728	-.07890	-.17756*	-.14891*

Program Correlations

Adventure, Crime drama, and Drama programs were correlated with all four need factors. Adventure, in particular, was significantly correlated with Diversion needs ($r = .21$). Demographic correlations for all of these program types reflected a relationship with a predominantly female and lower socioeconomic status audience.

Soap operas were also significantly correlated to all need factors, particularly Personal Identification ($r = .16$). Talk shows were not associated with either need factors, but demographics were significant for the variables of age, sex, and education; reflecting an older female audience.

Surprisingly, Black situation-comedies were only correlated with the need factor of Learning ($r = .14$). While Black television was significantly correlated with all need factors. Demographic correlations for both program types reflected a younger female audience.

Regression Analysis

Table 5 shows regression equations that accounted for 0-16 percent of explained variance across 20 program types. Of the 20 program types explained, variance was significant for 18 program types at a .05 level of significance. Explained variance for

Documentaries and Black television programs were not significant at .05 level.

The more significant variables, when controlling for 8 of 9 variables were age and sex. Both were significant in explaining variance in 21 program types combined. The need factor for Learning was significant in 6 program types and Diversion in one.

For Adventure programs 11 percent of the explained variance for regression equation 1, indicated Diversion (.14), age (-.11), and education (-.15) were significant. In equation 2, some 6 percent of the explained variance for Crime drama indicated that Learning was the only significant factor.

Explained variance for Commentary programs (11 percent) was positive in significance for the factor of Learning (.16) and age (.25), and negatively significant for the variable of education (-.09). Science fiction programs were also positive in significance for the factor of Learning (.14), while the variables education and age were negatively significant (-.12) and (-.23) respectively. For Black variety programs, 6 percent of the explained variance was positive in significance for the factor of Learning.

Table 5
Regression Equations

Program Type	R^2	F	PID	LNG	CSU	DIV	SEX	AGE	ED	SIT	OCC
Adventure	.11	7.3*	.08	.07	-.05	.14*	.07	-.11	-.15*	-.01	-.04
Crime drama	.06	3.8*	.07	.15*	-.08	.07	.07	-.05	-.07	.04	-.04
Drama	.11	7.2*	.10	.03	-.03	.05	.19*	-.02	.06	.09	-.05
Children	.02	1.4*	-.10	.19*	-.04	-.03	.06	-.04	-.04	.04	-.03
Documentary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Game shows	.13	9.0*	.09	.01	-.00	-.02	.19*	.26*	-.07	-.06	-.03
Movies	.06	3.7*	.05	.08	-.09	.10	.03	-.16*	.01	-.01	.00
Commentary	.11	7.3*	.09	.16*	-.06	-.02	-.02	.25*	.09	.04	.04
Science fiction	.12	7.6*	.04	.14*	-.07	.01	.02	-.23*	-.12*	-.04	-.03
Situation comedy	.10	7.0*	.04	.09	-.06	.04	.18*	-.13*	-.10*	-.07	-.01
Soap operas	.19	14.0*	.05	.04	-.01	.06	.34*	.18*	-.03	.05	-.04
Sports	.02	17.0*	.06	-.05	-.04	-.00	-.48*	.05	.05	.04	-.03
Talk shows	.16	11.0*	.04	.03	-.03	.01	.13*	.35*	.11*	-.04	-.02
Theatrical performance	.02	1.9*	.05	.02	.04	-.00	.03	-.02	-.07	.00	-.03
Black variety	.06	3.7*	-.01	.21*	-.08	.00	.21*	-.08	.03	.01	-.05
Black sitcoms	.09	5.6*	-.02	.14*	-.06	.01	.16*	-.16	-.01	-.09	.03
Black TV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
News	.16	11.0*	.11	.01	.05	-.07	.34*	.14*	.11*	.03	-.00
Variety	.06	5.0*	.03	.07	-.11	.09	.13*	-.03	.05	.13*	-.04
Music	.09	6.0	-.00	06	.00	.05	.13*	-.19*	-.08	-.04	-.03

Note. * = $p < .05$. PID=Personal I.D.; LNG=Learning; CSU=Communication/Social Utility; DIV=Diversion; ED=Education; SIT=Situation; OCC=Occupation

DISCUSSION

In the present study, when Frank and Greenberg's (1980) black subsample was analyzed separately, black's exhibited significant heterogeneity on the basis of needs. Hypotheses 1, therefore, can be supported by need Factors 2, 4, 5 and 7, that relate to the needs of Personal Identification, Learning, Communication/Social Utility and Diversion respectively.

In total, 12 need factors emerged from factor analysis, which were greater in number, than the 9 need factor groups for the general population. Although the 9 need factors determined by Frank and Greenberg were contained within the black sample's need factors, 3 new factors emerged. They were characterized as life-goal oriented, independently oriented, and skill seeking. This finding gives evidence that the needs of blacks are more heterogeneous and differ somewhat from the general population. However, only the needs hypothesized were examined in relation with television viewing.

Hypotheses 2, which postulated that greater needs for Personal Identification could be associated with greater amounts of viewing of black-oriented television programs, can be supported. Significant (positive) correlation was determined in relationship with the Personal Identification need factor and the program type of Black television. Correlation was also significant for the program types

of Adventure, Crime drama, Drama, Soap operas, Situation-comedies, Game shows, Science fiction, and Black variety programs. Noticeably absent in relationship with Personal Identification was the program type of black situation-comedies.

Hypotheses 5, which postulated that a greater need for Personal Identification could be highly associated with black situation-comedies, therefore, can not be supported. In fact, all need factors, except Personal Identification, were positive in significance for black situation-comedies.

The predictive ability of Personal Identification measured by regression analysis was shown to make no significant contribution to explained variance across 20 program types.

Whether black television audiences necessarily find the characters and life situations in black situation-comedies as appealing or as providing stellar role models, can not be substantiated in the scope of this study.

Hypotheses 3, which postulated that greater needs for learning could be associated with news, commentary, and other information program content, can only be partially supported. The need factor of cap learning was significant only in relationship to Commentary programs. It was not correlated to News, Talk shows, or Documentaries. On the other hand, the need factor for cap learning was significant in relation with 13 other program types — ranging from Crime drama programs to Children's programs.

Regression analysis revealed that the need factor for Learning was a highly significant factor in its predictive ability. Learning's contribution was significant in explaining variance for 6 program types and solely for Children's programs, Crime drama, and Black variety programs. Thus, it can be substantiated that Learning has a high predictive ability in relationship with television viewing.

These findings add further support to previous studies (Greenberg and Dominick, 1969; NSF, 1978; National Analysts, 1981), that have well documented the pronounced motivation and use of television for learning by blacks. Perhaps, even in part, giving rationale to the more favorable attitude blacks display towards television (Comstock et al., 1978; Allen, 1980, 1981).

The types of learning functions gratified by television viewing, particularly entertainment programs, however, is not quite clear. From prior research, the suggestions by Allen (1981) and Greenberg and Dominick (1969), that blacks look at television as a "crystal ball"; through which to view and engage in "fantasy-behavior" about a middle-class America denied them, may be a consideration. Particularly, since the majority of entertainment programs engender and emulate America's mainstream culture.

Interestingly, the great majority of programs related to learning gratification were not typically associated with informational content, i.e., Adventure, Variety, etc. This finding would

affirm Comstock and Cobbey's (1979) assertion that blacks look even to entertainment programs for informational content and learning gratification.

Hypotheses 4, which postulated that greater needs for diversion could be associated with greater viewing of entertainment programming, can also be supported. Diversion needs were significant in relationship with the program types of Adventure, Crime drama, Science fiction, Situation-comedies, Soap operas, Music, Black television, Movies, and Variety programs. Surprisingly, Sports and Game shows were not correlated in relationship with Diversion needs.

Regression analysis revealed that Diversion explained variance only in relation for Adventure programs. Although limited, diversion can be evidenced to contain some degree of predictive ability for Adventure programs.

Following Carey's (1965) observations concerning the program preferences of black television audiences, for drama, the program types of Adventure, Crime drama, and Drama were among the sample's favorite program preferences. A significant relationship was found between all need factors and these program types; however, it still does not explain what Carey noted as black's "persistent preference ... for drama ...." (p. 209).

Although these programs were also favorite preferences for the general population in previous studies, Frank and Greenberg (1980) and National Analysts (1981), it was determined that blacks' viewing

of Adventure programs was 54 percent greater than the general population. For Crime drama, viewing was 50 percent greater than the population as a whole.

Again, Carey conjectured that, it was the thematic elements of bitterness and conflict which were characteristic of black life and culture, that might be attributed to their penchant for drama programs.

This relationship becomes particularly more perplexing when considering Zoglin's (1981) observation that "in dramatic series ... focus on black themes or characters are virtually non-existent on network TV" (p. 12a).

Research Question 2b, which sought to ascertain what types of programs were associated with Communication/Social Utility, can also be answered. A significant relationship between this need factor was found for the program types of Adventure, Crime drama, Commentary, Theatrical performances, Black variety, Black television programs, Music, and most highly with Soap operas. Its predictive ability, as a factor mediating television viewing, however, was determined to make no significant contribution to explained variance for any program type.

Research Question 4, which sought to measure the ability of needs and demographics to predict program viewing, can also be addressed. The relationship between the demographic variables of sex, age, education, situation, and occupation and program prefer-

ences and types were generally higher than need factors (see Tables 3 and 4).

Sex and age were highly significant in their ability to predict program types, showing both positive and negative relationships with 21 program types combined. Situation and occupation also proved to be significant in relation to 10 program types, while education was significant in relation with 5 program types.

CONCLUSION

Black television audiences display greater heterogeneity on the basis of needs when examined exclusively. Certain credence, therefore, can be given to research designs analyzing blacks separately, as Allen (1981) has suggested. However, the relationship between those needs and television viewing exhibited homogeneity.

The need factors of Personal Identification, Learning, Communication/Social Utility, and Diversion were found in correlational analysis to be active and in common significance within a majority of program types. The overall predictive ability of needs to mediate and guide television program preferences, with the exception of Learning, proved to be of little or no significance.

The demographic variables of sex, age, education, situation, and occupation, on the other hand, proved to be of greater significance as predictors of television program preferences. In this

case, the intra-racial examination of demographics and black television audiences took on similar patterns associated with normal population distribution and characteristics.

Taking into account both need factors and demographic variables, black television audience composition by program type is largely heterogeneous. This can be evidenced by program audience(s) having different needs and socioeconomic characteristics — from black men with "good jobs" watching basketball and football, to blacks with high levels of education and occupational status, as well as high learning needs viewing commentary programs, or to lower socioeconomic black women watching "Kojack".

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